423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

421 The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, everything they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 674 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by [417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

692 627 The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases 696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kisukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelemy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

563 Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
186 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
●674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

273 Preparation of Beer. The production of beer plays an important part in the economic life of Ruanda. In fact, most of the bananas are planted solely for this purpose. Everybody drinks. [556] Indeed, everyone who cares about his reputation must get drunk occasionally in order to parade his wealth. However, only the very wealthy can afford beer drinking on a large scale, which is the reason that the consumption of beer carries with it the notion of a privileged social position.

I had no opportunity to hear about cases of delirium tremens, but the chiefs always go to bed drunk and are never up and about before 10 o'clock in the morning.

The Banyaruanda call beer poetically a blessing of God (Imana). Without beer a person can neither be born nor buried. Without beer a man does not get a wife, and without beer he cannot be consecrated to the spirits.

Drinking bouts sometimes last a long time and are not confined to the evening hours. Repeatedly during morning trips I passed noisy settlements where the perservering were still at the glorious task.

273 The consequences of over-indulgence in beer are of very ●614 great social significance in Mulera. They cause murder which in turn results in blood revenge. One constantly hears of murder, and the people are very proud of it. Even those whom a man kills while drunk are counted among his slain enemies and are symbolized by cone-shaped iron pendants worn on the back of his headband (see Fig. 62).

At the time of my visit, a Batwa colony of potters in Kabgaye broke up because two drunken men killed a third man and thereupon had to flee with all their relatives to escape vengeance.

273 Not only the men, but also the women of the well-to-do, especially the Batutsi, are said to devote themselves not infrequently to drink. Since their physical beauty is combined with a rather brutal disposition, one often hears of servants of a chief's wife who were soundly thrashed by their intoxicated mistress.

In Ruanda there are several entirely different kinds of beer. Banana beer is commonly called nzoga; millet beer, marwa.

674 Since people are constantly passing goods received from
616 another person to their clients (bagaragu), affairs of indebtedness become so complicated that it is difficult to keep the whole matter straight. Since the Batutsi are primarily the ones who grant and collect, however, it is customary to speak of theft (kwiba) only in connection with the Bahutu. In the case of the Batutsi one speaks of plundering, of collecting (kuambura). Nevertheless, if a Mututsi steals from another Mututsi and cannot prove that he is merely collecting his own property, he is treated like a thief.

685 When a thief is caught, his arms are tied so that the elbows are as close together as possible, [278] which is very painful. He is kept waiting thus until his relatives ransom him. The amount they must pay for his release is, as a rule, double the value of the stolen article. Sometimes this is increased to five times the value. Half of this goes to the injured party, the other half to those who helped him catch the thief. This portion usually consists of beer (nzoga). Since the injured person frequently retrieves his goods with the help of the chief, the latter keeps the second half of the ransom. This always happens in the case of stolen cows, for example. These cases border on out-and-out brigandage and can only be tracked down with the help of the chiefs. If the ransom is not paid, the thief himself is punished. He can even be slain. If the thief belongs to a powerful clan, however, there is no rush to murder him, especially because of the fear blood revenge. If there is no fear of the thief's family, however, various punishments are given. Sometimes the criminal is tied to two posts and left to starve to death and to be consumed by birds of prey or even impaled. Ordinary thieves who have not stolen cows are not so severely punished. If the death penalty is to be administered, the criminal's arms are tied, and he is thrown into the water. Ordinarily it is enough to cut off the criminal's ears. This punishment is said to have been the favorite one of Musinga's father, the great Lwabugiri Kigeri. In former times this was not considered enough, and one hand was also cut off.

A captured Mututsi who is not ransomed by his family can allegedly be killed only with the consent of the mutware, who in this manner takes the responsibility upon himself. In fact, the Bahutu are reluctant to punish the Batutsi of southern Ruanda

674 754 Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

[761]

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

791 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.